

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 303854  
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66011  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

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NODIS  
FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM UNA

FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM PRETORIA DTD 21 DEC 1977 QTE

SECRET PRETORIA 6986

NODIS

PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MNUC, PARM, SF  
SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS ON SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR PROBLEM

REF: STATE 302210

1. DEPARTMENT'S PROMPT RELAY OF INSTRUCTIONS ENABLED  
ME TO CATCH BRAND FOURIE AT JAN SMUTS AIRPORT LAST  
NIGHT AS HE TRANSITTED ON HIS WAY TO LONDON. UNDER  
SECRETARY VAN DALSEN ALSO PRESENT.

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2. IN MAKING THE PRESENTATION TO FOURIE, I USED THESE  
SPEAKING POINTS (WITHOUT GIVING HIM COPY):  
-DURING YOUR MEETING IN THE STATE DEPT ON  
NOV. 10 YOU REFERRED TO UNCERTAINTIES IN TWO AREAS WHICH  
NEEDED TO BE CLEARED UP TO DETERMINE WHETHER A BASIS  
EXISTED FOR REACHING AN UNDERSTANDING ON NUCLEAR ISSUES.  
THESE WERE:

..WHETHER WE FORESEE FUTURE US NUCLEAR  
COOPERATION LIMITED TO THE SUPPLY OF LEU FOR KOEBERG  
OR ALSO INTEND TO CONTINUE SUPPLYING FUEL FOR THE SAFARI  
RESEARCH REACTOR;

..HOW OUR PROPOSAL FOR SPECIAL INTERIM  
SAFEGUARDS AT VALINDABA CAN BE RECONCILED WITH SAG  
CONCERNS TO PROTECT ITS SECRET ENRICHMENT PROCESS.

-SINCE HIS VISIT, WE HAVE PURSUED DETAILED  
TECHNICAL ANALYSIS AS TO HOW WE CAN ADDRESS THESE TWO  
CONCERNS IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH OUR NUCLEAR  
POLICIES. WE WOULD NOW LIKE TO PRESENT OUR POSITIONS  
ON THESE MATTERS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

-OUR PROPOSALS ARE AVAILABLE AS TECHNICAL  
PAPERS WHICH WE BELIEVE SHOULD BE PRESENTED TO THE  
SAG IN A MANNER WHICH PERMITS A CAREFUL JOINT REVIEW  
TO ASSURE FULL UNDERSTANDING OF PRECISELY WHAT WE  
PROPOSE. MOREOVER, IN SOME RESPECTS WE HAVE HAD TO MAKE  
ASSUMPTIONS BASED ON PARTIAL INFORMATION ABOUT SAFARI  
AND VALINDABA THAT NEED TO BE CLARIFIED BEFORE THE  
PAPERS ARE CONSIDERED FINAL.

-WE THEREFORE PROPOSE TO BRING A SMALL TECHNICAL  
TEAM TO SOUTH AFRICA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO SET FORTH OUR  
PROPOSALS TO APPROPRIATE SAG TECHNICAL AND POLITICAL  
OFFICIALS. THE TEAM WOULD BE COMPOSED OF A STATE DEPT  
OFFICER CONCERNED WITH NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY, A  
SAFEGUARDS EXPERT FROM ACDA AND A REACTOR FUEL EXPERT  
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FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY.

-THE TEAM WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO BEGIN  
DISCUSSIONS ON TUESDAY, JANUARY 3. WE SUGGEST THAT  
ACTIVITIES MIGHT BEGIN WITH INITIAL CALLS ON YOU  
AND DR. ROUX, THEN PROCEED TO TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS  
WITH PERSONNEL OF SAFARI AND VALINDABA. THE VISIT  
MIGHT CONCLUDE WITH A FINAL PRESENTATION OF OUR  
TECHNICAL PROPOSALS AT WHATEVER POLITICAL LEVEL THE  
SAG DEEMS APPROPRIATE.

-WE HOPE THAT THE US PROPOSALS ELABORATED AND  
MODIFIED AS NECESSARY DURING THE TEAM VISIT WOULD  
ENABLE THE SAG TO REACH AN EARLY DECISION ON ACCESSION  
TO THE NPT AND ON ACCEPTANCE OF SAFEGUARDS AT VALINDABA.

-WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST  
TO AVOID ALL PUBLICITY OVER THE FACT OF A VISIT BY THIS  
TECHNICAL GROUP. WE ASSUME THE SAG SHARES THIS VIEW.

3. IN RESPONSE FOURIE RAISED THREE ISSUES. FIRST,  
HE SAID THAT IN HIS TALKS IN WASHINGTON HE HAD NOT  
LIMITED HIMSELF TO THE FUEL AND SAFEGUARDS QUESTIONS.  
THE SAG IS INTERESTED IN DISCUSSIONS COVERING THE BROAD  
RANGE OF NUCLEAR PROBLEMS MENTIONED IN PM VORSTER'S

OCTOBER 12 LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER. HE REGRETTED THAT HE DID NOT HAVE HIS NOTES OF THE NYE-MOOSE MEETING, BUT HE WAS SURE THAT HE HAD EXPRESSED A DESIRE THAT AMBASSADOR SMITH COME TO SOUTH AFRICA TO GO OVER THE SPECTRUM OF PROBLEMS IN THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR COOPERATION. SINCE ALL THESE QUESTIONS ARE INTER-RELATED, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE SAG TO EXPRESS VIEWS ON ONE ISSUE WITHOUT KNOWING THE US RESPONSE ON THE OTHERS. THE SAG ATTITUDE, FOR EXAMPLE, ON NPT AND SAFEGUARDS WOULD BE AFFECTED BY THE AMERICAN REACTION TO MORE THAN FUEL FOR SAFARI I AND KOEBERG. THE SECOND POINT HE MADE WAS TO INQUIRE WHETHER THE VISIT OF THE TECHNICAL TEAM WAS IN LIEU OF A SMITH VISIT. THE THIRD ISSUE WAS THE DIFFICULTY FOR HIM TO COORDINATE

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AN ANSWER AND ASSEMBLE THE KEY PEOPLE WHEN ALMOST ALL ARE SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ON VACATION. WHEN HE WAS IN WASHINGTON, HE HAD EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT WE COULD WAIT UNTIL NEXT MONTH AFTER THE GOVERNMENT REASSEMBLED ON JANUARY 9. HE PLANNED TO BE IN PRETORIA ON JANUARY 9-11.

4. I STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACHED TO MOVING EXPEDITIOUSLY WITH THE TALKS. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THIS AND WOULD SEE WHAT MIGHT BE DONE BY JANUARY 3. HE ASKED VAN DALSEN TO CHECK WITH DR. ROUX ON HIS AVAILABILITY AND THAT OF HIS PRINCIPAL TECHNICIANS. UNTIL THIS WAS DONE AND HE HAD A CHANCE TO TOUCH BASE WITH HIS SUPERIORS, HE COULD NOT GIVE ME AN ANSWER. HE WOULD BE BACK FROM LONDON ON FRIDAY, DEC. 23, AND WOULD LET ME KNOW AS SOON THEREAFTER AS POSSIBLE.

5. TO MEET HIS POINT ABOUT THE SAG'S DESIRE FOR "BROAD" DISCUSSIONS OF NUCLEAR MATTERS, I EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THESE TECHNICAL TALKS AS AN ESSENTIAL PRIOR STEP TO MEANINGFUL BROADER DISCUSSIONS. ON A MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR SMITH, I SAID WE DO NOT RULE THIS OUT IF, AFTER THE TECHNICAL EXCHANGES, A SPECIFIC AND MUTUALLY AGREED BASIS EXISTS FOR FAIRLY FINAL TALKS TO RESOLVE OUR NUCLEAR PROBLEMS. HE DID NOT PRESS HIS VIEWS ON THIS ASPECT.

6. WE LEFT IT THAT HE WOULD RESPOND TO OUR DESIRE TO HOLD TECHNICAL TALKS STARTING ON JANUARY 3 AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AFTER HIS RETURN FROM LONDON. WE MAY WELL NOT GET A REPLY UNTIL NEXT WEEK. I SUGGEST THAT OUR TEAM MAKE TENTATIVE PLANS TO ARRIVE HERE ON JANUARY 2. I WILL KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH VAN DALSEN TO SEE WHEN

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A RESPONSE MIGHT BE FORTHCOMING. I AM NOT SURE TO WHAT  
EXTENT I DEFLECTED THE DESIRE FOR "BROADER" TALKS.  
MINDFUL OF THE OCTOBER 12 LETTER FOURIE IN THIS INITIAL  
CONVERSATION WANTED TO KEEP ALL OPTIONS OPEN. WE SHALL  
GET A BETTER READING ON SAG INTENTIONS FROM THE NATURE OF THE  
RESPONSE TO HOLDING TECHNICAL TALKS ON JANUARY 3. BOWLDLER  
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## Message Attributes

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**Decapton Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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